

Non-Violence

In principle, appeal is to opponent's conscience; "morally embarrassing him" (Frank, 268)

(i.e. rather than threatening, to deter from action, method assumes opponent starts on course but finds it unpleasant because of Satyagrahi moral pressure: ideally, "changes his mind" on preferability of course; or, at least, finds it less preferable while Sat. resistance continues.)

However, more commonly, effort is on third parties (Ross, in Case) or, depending on the "structure" of the appeal, on certain internal elements in opposing side (e.g. college students in 1965)

Suppose Jews had forced full awareness on Germans

N-V may mobilize masses in situations where program of violence would not: either because threat is too great or too small (Brits in India), or cause too hopeless.

People (e.g. women, students) may be willing to use N-V on mass scale — thus wielding real power

(60% using N-V may be as powerful as 30% using violence: not more attainable, with good leadership).

Also, N-V approach may create environment in which violence by A would have strong backlash, 1000 (this may even be apparent to A, who then sticks to N-V rules, even though he is losing by that. Frank p. 269: on India i.e. threat of violence (but not of deliberate choice of V, just non-rational response to V.

i.e. N-V may "threaten" that use of V. would cause great anger, hence violent, "mad" response: like dragging the bodies, or pouring kerosene around.

Gov. Wallace, like Chambers: the threat of mass,
uncontrolled anger. "Can't control followers, if
no success."

Czech + Indian + Alabama cases ~~show~~
~~show~~ enlarge one's sense of want of devotion
and discipline that can be maintained in N-V.

Also: N-V tests stability of system, less
dangerously than V.

Non-violence

Must be able to "explain" failure to use violence: show it is not based on cowardice, fear, "womanliness."

Contrast code of Westerns;
masculine requirement of

- willingness + capability to use violence
- ability to feel + show anger, hatred, contempt; will to punish those who threaten or hurt us

(Difficult to demonstrate non-cowardice in refraining from violence if you are clearly angry, hostile: and have capability for violence.)

[Why is it "OK" for women to be non-violent?]

Satyagraha

DRV, by inviting bombing, diminished
morale of US — ~~can~~ raised issue of "right,"
"justice" — and permitted mobilization within
the NVN.

(By never admitting provocation;
& refusing "reciprocity...")
(Refusal to compromise principle...)

Human responses to courage, integrity,
unselfishness, willingness to suffer, sacrifice,
endure hardships

And human revulsion against violence
to unarmed (unthreatening) persons; to
cruelty, bloodshed.

(But also, revulsion against cowardice, passivity, failure to
protect dependents...

(Need to publicize, dramatize, such
sufferings; capture attention (Jews failed
to do this in Germany; or to demonstrate exemplary
qualities, non-sheeplike).

Appeal to human — non-institutional —
qualities in hearts of opponents & third-parties
(and remain human).

Shredharani:

(Victim should accept part of "blame",)

325 "For the tyrant has the power to inflict only that which we lack the strength to resist. It is ~~of~~ our own personal weaknesses that enable others to treat us the way they do and still to save their faces with their fellow beings in the process. Discarding these weaknesses means clipping the power of the opponent. This coupled with dramatized and organized sacrificial suffering, would also insure a largely favorable public opinion, which is normally opposed to bloodshed and torture from any quarter."

[Algeria]

[NVN: used of Sat. by an "aggressor"!]

[Work on opponent's "facework" — shift penalty of "loss of face" away from compliance, and toward resistance: so that it is "going on" that sacrifices pride. NVN]

Satya. rests on strong human sanctions,
makes strong demands; is to be used only when there
is no alternative but force, if that.

"Satya. is to be employed only when
anything, except violence and war, is more
desirable than the existing state of affairs."

Shridharani 308

(Even more - if even violence & war...)

Force, without irreconcilable antagonism

[i.e. physical violence, which ^{can} leads to latter

[Not nearly so hard to demonstrate courage, etc.
without violence if you use imagination, & try.]

see Dickstein on Czechs 68: Commentary, Nov 68

see p. 47 on Czech crisis of 1938:

Exasperation: Czechs 1968

VC/NVN Campaign (combined with both)
Comm L - Satya + Violence